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**WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIAN TRADE UNION
MOVEMENTS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE
NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN REGIONS IN THE FOURTH
REPUBLIC**



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Universiti Utara Malaysia

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY UTARA MALAYSIA
2020**

**WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN NIGERIAN TRADE UNION
MOVEMENTS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE
NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN REGIONS IN THE FOURTH
REPUBLIC**



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**Thesis Submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government in
Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy
University Utara Malaysia**



Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa
(College of Law, Government and International Studies)
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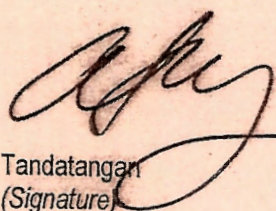
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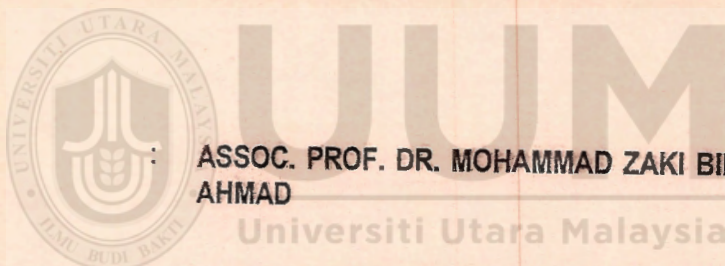
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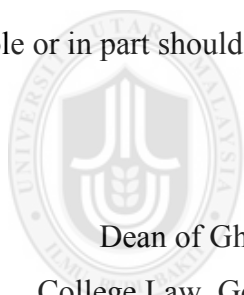

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ABSTRACT

Nigerian Trade Union (NTU) serves as a platform to safeguard and guarantee the interests and rights of workers in government organizations, regardless of gender and age. There is, however, a contrasting trend with regard to women participation in the Union in the Northern and Southern regions. In comparison to men, the level of women participation in the NTU is much lower in the Northern region than in the Southern region. Hence, this study examines the participation of women in Nigerian trade union movements of Northern and Southern regions in the Fourth Republic through comparative analysis. This study adopts a qualitative method of data collection. A total of twenty-two respondents from the two regions were interviewed using unstructured questions. MAXQDA 2018 software version is used to analyze the data obtained from the field. In explaining the topic under investigation, the study has adopted the following three theories as a tool of research analysis: Empowerment, Social Constructivism and Liberal Feminist theories. The key framework of these theories is largely premised on women empowerment and gender equality. These theories emphasize on the need for empowering women and gender fairness in every organization. The basis of the Social Constructivism theory is that gender inequality is socially constructed. The findings of this study demonstrate that women in the Southern region are empowered and participate actively in the trade union movements as compared to their Northern counterparts whom are not adequately empowered and are often subjugated to domestic activities. This condition occurs due to the gender stereotype as well as cultural and religious inclination. The underlying reasons behind the active participation in trade union movements and empowerment of NTU female members in the Southern region are their equal access to education, the strong influence of Lagos market women and their frequent exposure to NTU activities. Therefore, the study recommends that the Nigerian government should enact national policies and strategies to encourage women participation and empowerment in the trade union movements of both regions. The study adds that there is a need for women to be educated on gender discrimination by implementing the 35 percent Geneva Affirmative Action.

Keywords: Comparative Analysis; Nigeria; Trade Union; Women.

ABSTRAK

Kesatuan Sekerja Nigeria (NTU) berfungsi sebagai sebuah platform untuk melindungi dan menjamin kepentingan dan hak pekerja di dalam organisasi-organisasi kerajaan, tanpa mengira jantina dan umur. Namun begitu, terdapat trend yang berbeza berkenaan penyertaan wanita di dalam Kesatuan di wilayah Utara dan wilayah Selatan. Jika dibandingkan dengan lelaki, tahap penyertaan wanita di dalam NTU adalah jauh lebih rendah di wilayah Utara berbanding dengan di wilayah Selatan. Oleh itu, kajian ini mengkaji penyertaan wanita di dalam pergerakan kesatuan sekerja di wilayah Utara dan wilayah Selatan sewaktu Republik Keempat melalui analisis kontras jurang jantina. Kajian ini mengguna pakai kaedah pengumpulan data secara kualitatif. Seramai dua puluh dua responden dari kedua-dua wilayah telah ditemu bual menggunakan soalan tidak berstruktur. Perisian MAXQDA versi 2018 telah digunakan untuk menganalisis data yang diperolehi dari lapangan. Dalam menjelaskan topik yang diselidiki, kajian ini telah menggunakan tiga teori berikut sebagai alat analisis kajian: Teori *Empowerment*, Teori *Social Constructivism* dan Teori *Liberal Feminist*. Kerangka utama teori-teori ini adalah diasaskan kepada kesaksamaan gender dan pemeraksanaan wanita. Kesemua teori ini sangat menekankan tentang perlunya keadilan terhadap jantina dan pemeraksanaan wanita dalam setiap organisasi. Asas Teori *Social Constructivism* adalah bahawa ketidaksamaan terhadap jantina terbina secara sosial dan bukannya secara semula jadi. Dapatan kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa wanita dari wilayah Selatan diberi kuasa dan mengambil bahagian secara aktif di dalam pergerakan-pergerakan kesatuan sekerja berbanding dengan pekerja wanita di wilayah Utara yang dilihat tidak diberi kuasa yang mencukupi dan sering terkongkong oleh aktiviti-aktiviti domestik. Perkara ini berlaku kerana stereotaip jantina di samping budaya dan kecenderungan agama. Sebab utama di sebalik pemeraksanaan dan penglibatan aktif gerakan kesatuan sekerja oleh ahli anggota wanita NTU di wilayah Selatan adalah akses pendidikan yang sama, pengaruh wanita di Pasar Lagos yang kuat dan pendedahan kepada aktiviti NTU yang kerap. Oleh itu, kajian ini mencadangkan agar kerajaan Nigeria menggubal polisi dan strategi nasional untuk menggalakkan penglibatan dan pemeraksanaan wanita di dalam pergerakan-pergerakan kesatuan sekerja di kedua-dua buah wilayah. Kajian ini menambah bahawa terdapat keperluan bagi wanita dididik mengenai diskriminasi jantina dengan melaksanakan *35 percent Geneva Affirmative Action*.

Kata kunci: Analisis Komparatif; Nigeria; Kesatuan Sekerja; Wanita.

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DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to my deceased **son** Ali Mustapha (Aliyu) and my departed parents, the excellent actors in my entire life whose motivations, inspirations and foresight ease my education. I loved your life dream and will continue to use it for the future generations. May the Almighty Allah have mercy on you, forgive your shortcomings and grant you Jannatul Firdausi, Amin.



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APPENDIX A

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAEUN	Agriculture and Allied Employees of Nigeria
AAWUN	Agric and Allied Workers Union of Nigeria
AFRC	Armed Forces Ruling Council
ANC	African National Congress
ASSBIFI	Association of Senior Staff of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institutions
ASUP	Academic Staff Union of Polytechnic
ASURI	Academic Staff Union of Research Institutions
ASUU	Academic Staff Union of Universities
AUPCTRE	Amalgamated Union of Public Corporation Civil Service Technical and Recreational Employees
BLP	Better Life Programme for rural dwellers
CDC	Constitutional Drafting Committee (CDC)
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CIDS's	Canadian International Development Agency
COCIN	Church of Christ in Nigeria
COEASU	Colleges of Education Academic Staff Union
ECWA	Evangelical Church Winning All
FAI	Future Assured Initiative
FNWS	Federation of Nigerian Women Societies
FSP	Family Support Programme
GDI	Gender-related Development Index
GEP	Gender Equality Policy
HOR	House of Representatives
HRD	Human Resource Development
IITs	Indian Institution of Technology
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
IOTA	International Organization of Tropical Agriculture
ISSSAN	Iron & Steel Senior Staff Association of Nigeria

ITUC	International Union Confederation
JSUN	Judicial Staff Union of Nigeria
KNC	Kamerun National Congress
KNDP	Kamerun National Democratic Party
LMWA	Lagos Market Women Association
LUF	Labour Unity Front
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MEPROSSAN	Metal Products Senior Staff Association of Nigeria
MHWUN	Medical and Health Workers Union of Nigeria
MPs	Members of the Parliaments
MWUN	Maritime Workers Union of Nigeria
NAAT	National Association of Academic Technologists
NAC	National Administration Council
NANNM	National Association of Nigeria Nurses and Midwives
NAPEP	National Poverty Eradication Programme
NASUEAI	Non-Academic Staff Union of Educational and Associated Institutions
NAUW	Nigerian Association of University Women
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NCSU	Nigeria Civil Service Union
NCW	National Commission for Women
NCWS	National Council for Women Society
NGO's	Non-governmental Organization
NIWELFA	Nigeria Welders and Fitters Association
NTU	Nigeria Labour Congress
NNDP	Nigerian National Democratic Party
NPC	Nigeria Population Commission
NTUC	Nigeria Trade union Congress
NUATE	National Union of Air Transport Employees
NUBIFIE	National Union of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institution Employees
NUCECFWW	National Union of Civil Engineering, Construction, Furniture and Wood Workers
NUCFLANMPE	National Union of Chemical, Footwear, Rubber, Leather and Non-Metallic Employees

NUCSSSW	Nigeria Union of Civil Service Secretariat Stenographic Workers
NUEEN	National Union of Electricity Employees of Nigeria
NUFBTEN	National Union of Food, Beverage and Tobacco Employees of Nigeria
NUHPSWN	National Union of Hotels and Personal Services Workers
NUJ	Nigeria Union of Journalists
NULAE	National Union of Lottery Agents and Employees
NULGE	Nigerian Union of Local Government Employees
NUMW	Nigeria Union of Mine Workers
NUNMW	Nigerian Union of Nurses and Midwives
NUP	Nigeria Union of Pensioners
NUPENG	National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas
NUPPPPW	National Union of Printing, Publishing and Paper Products Workers
NUPTE	National Union of Posts and Telecommunication Employees
NURM	Nigeria Union of Railway Men
NURTW	National Union of Road Transport Workers
NUSDE	National Union of Shop and Distributive Employees
NUT	Nigerian Union of Teachers
NUTGTWN	National Union of Textile, Garment and Tailoring Workers of Nigeria
NWC	Nigeria Workers Council
NWC	National Women Commission
NWP	Nigerian Women Party
PROAP	Principal Relation Officer for Asia and Pacific
PSAN	Parliamentary Staff Association of Nigeria
PWF	Pakistan Workers Federation
QDC	Quadrennial Delegates Conference
RATTAWU	Radio, Television and Theatre Workers Union of Nigeria
SAC	State Administrative Council
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme

SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SEC	State Executive Council
SEWUN	Steel & Engineering Workers Union of Nigeria
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SSANIP	Senior Staff Association of Nigerian Polytechnics
SSANU	Senior Staff Association of Nigerian Universities
SWC	State Women Committees
TUC	Trade union Congress
TUM	Trade union Movements
UBE	Universal Basic Education
UCC	Uniform Code Council
UGIs	Unit of Gender Issues
UIE	UNESCO Institute for Education
ULC	United Labour Congress
UN	United Nations
UND	United Nation Declaration
UNESCO	United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNO	United Nation Organization
VAIWG	Violence against Women and Girls
WAPA	Women Affairs and Poverty Alleviation
WB	World Bank
WCW	World Conference on Women
WEC-PK	Women Employment Concern and Working Condition in Pakistan
WHO	World Health Organization
WIN	Women in Nigeria

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The formation of Nigerian Trade Union Movements (NTUM) is generally intended to provide an avenue or platform to safeguard and guarantee the interests and rights of workers in various organizations. This led to the establishment of the Nigerian Trade Union (NTU) in 1978 with the purpose of engaging employers to ensure the welfare of employees. NTU is the largest umbrella or body covering all government workers in Nigeria, constituting 43 sub-unions under it (Wabba, 2017). NTU is comprised of males and females, it has a population of over four million members across the nation (NTU Handbook, 2017). Since its inception, NTU, which is currently in operation throughout the entire states of Nigeria, has been actively engaging the Nigerian government on a myriad of issues affecting the workers in the country, regardless of a group they belong to. NTU assumes numerous responsibilities which include, among others, to consolidate, unionize and train Nigerian workforces, to protect and spread the economic, cultural and social rights and privileges of Nigerian employees, and to liberate and free female workers from all sorts of abuse, marginalization as well as to attain gender equality in the workplace. It also supports and expands the links and influences among Nigerian employees to struggle for changing the country into a fair, caring and independent state (Wabba, 2017; NTU Handbook, 2017). However, in every organization, there is a tendency for clash of interest between the employers and employees which often leads to the principle of negotiating and bargaining. This is

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APPENDIX A
Interview Guide
Nigerian Trade Union Borno and Oyo State

General highlight on the objectives (blueprint) of NTU

a. The position of women participation in NTU

- I. Can you briefly explain the position of women participation in NTU of the Northern region?
- II. Can you briefly explain the position of women participation in NTU of the Southern region?
- III. Why women are under participating in NTU of the Northern region
- IV. Why women are under participating in NTU of the Northern region
- V. How does the NTU empower its members especially the female's ones to take part in the Northern and Southern region?
- VI. What are the determinants of the position of women participation in NTU of the Northern and Southern region?
- VII. Can you please mention the determinants of the position of women participation in the NTU of the Northern and Southern region?
- VIII. Are women participating actively in NTU activities?
- IX. Why women are not participating actively in the NTU of the Northern and Southern region?

a. The strategies and mechanisms of NTU to empower women in the NTU of the Northern and Southern region

- i. How does the NTU empower its female members in the Northern and Southern region?
- ii. What are the mechanisms that the NTU use to empower women in the NTU of Northern and Southern region?

- iii. Are the mechanisms or strategies effective in empowering women in NTU of the Northern and Southern region?
 - iv. Could you briefly list the mechanisms that NTU use to empower its members?
 - v. What are the policies or strategies NTU use in empowering its members of the Northern and Southern region?
 - vi. Could you briefly mention these policies that the NTU put in place to empower its female members?
 - vii. Are these policies effective in empowering women in the NTU of Northern region?
- b. How NTU represents, address the interest and demand of its female members?
- i. Do NTU represent the needs and interest of its female's members?
 - ii. How did it represent the demands and interest of its female members?
 - iii. Are there any challenges the female's members face in pursuing their goals?
 - iv. Could you tell me the challenges they face in pursuing their goals?
 - v. Are the males help in women empowerment and participation in NTU?
- c. The challenges NTU encountered in introducing gender equality
- i. What are the challenges NTU encountered in introducing gender equality?
 - ii. Could you briefly mention the challenges women encountered in the NTU of the Northern and Southern regions?
 - iii. Are women participating actively in the NTU of the Northern and Southern regions?

- iv. Are women play a significant role in NTU of the Northern and Southern regions?
- v. Are there any challenges women face in pursuing gender equality in the NTU of the Northern and Southern regions?
- vi. Briefly mention the challenges women face in pursuing gender equality in the NTU of the Northern and Southern regions?
- vii. Do the men support you in pursuing gender equality in the NTU of the Northern and Southern regions?
- viii. How do they support or encourages you in the NTU of?
- ix. How do you support the female members to take part in NTU of the Northern and Southern regions?

